

JANUARY 22, 1952
700th BROADCAST

Illinois U Library Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

Broadcast by 278 Stations of the ABC Network

U. S. Pat. Off.



Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

The Republican Nomination --- Eisenhower or Taft?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

OWEN BREWSTER



THE LISTENER TALKS BACK

on

**"How Can We Protect American Citizens
Behind the Iron Curtain?"**

Published by THE TOWN HALL, Inc., New York 36, N. Y.

VOLUME 17, NUMBER 39



\$5.00 A YEAR, 15c A COPY



Town Meeting

VOL. 17

No. 39



The Republican Nomination—Eisenhower or Taft?

The Broadcast of January 22, 1952, from 9:00 to 9:45 p.m., EST, over the American Broadcasting Company Network, originated from the Studios of the American Broadcasting Company, Radio City, New York.

The account of the meeting reported in this Bulletin was transcribed from recordings made of the actual broadcast and represents the exact content of the meeting as nearly as such mechanism permits. The publishers and printer are not responsible for the statements of the speakers or the points of views presented.

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

SENATOR OWEN BREWSTER—Republican of Maine; member of the Senate Finance Committee and Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. A graduate of Harvard Law School, Senator Brewster was admitted to the Maine Bar in 1913. He entered the field of politics in 1917 as a member of the Maine House of Representatives, and although renominated in 1918, he resigned to enter military service. From 1921 to 1922, Mr. Brewster was again a Representative in the Maine Legislature, and in 1923, he became a State Senator. He served as Governor of Maine for two terms, 1925-29, and was elected to the United States Congress in 1934. He has been a United States Senator since 1941. Senator Brewster was a member of the Senatorial Committee of five Senators, making a global flight during 1943 representing the Truman Committee investigating the war program.

REPRESENTATIVE CHRISTIAN A. HERTER—Republican of Massachusetts; member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. After graduating from Harvard University, cum laude, in 1915, Mr. Herter went to Berlin, where he served as attache of the American Embassy, 1916-17, until diplomatic relations with Germany were terminated. He then took charge of the American Legation in Brussels, Belgium, before returning to the United States where he worked for the State Department. In 1918, he was assistant commissioner and secretary of the special diplomatic mission to draw up a prisoner-of-war agreement with Germany, and in 1920, he was executive secretary of the European Relief Council. From 1921 to 1924, Representative Herter served as assistant to Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover. His legislative career began when he was elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, where he served for 12 years. In 1942, he was elected to the United States Congress.

Town Meeting is published weekly at 32 S. Fourth St., Columbus 15, Ohio, by The Town Hall, Inc., New York 36, New York. Send subscriptions and single copy orders to **Town Hall, New York 36, N.Y.**

Subscription price, \$5.00 a year, (Canada, \$6.00); six months, \$3.00, (Canada, \$3.50); eight weeks, \$1.00, (Canada, \$1.20); 15c a single copy. Entered as second-class matter, May 9, 1942, at the Post Office at Columbus, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Copyright, 1952, BY THE TOWN HALL, INC.

The Republican Nomination—Eisenhower or Taft?

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. Continuing our policy of presenting the qualifications of the leading candidates for the Republican and Democratic nominations for President of the United States, we bring you tonight two of the principal spokesmen for Senator Robert Taft of Ohio and General Dwight Eisenhower. We will probably hear from Harold Stassen, Governor Earl Warren, and other Republican candidates as the campaign develops.

Let's get into this great game of politics at once. We are sorry that the storm kept Senator Brewster from being with us in person, but he is standing by, in a studio in Boston.

So we will hear first from one of Senator Taft's ablest advocates, the Senior Senator from the State of Maine, who has been a staunch supporter of Senator Taft from the start—Senator Owen Brewster, Republican of Maine.

Senator Brewster:

Thank you, George Denny. The current interest in the Republican presidential nomination is decidedly encouraging. Curiously enough the Democratic nomination meanwhile seems almost to go abegging. Chief Justice Vinson turns it down; Senator Paul Douglas firmly rejects it; Justice Douglas will have nothing to do with it; the President continues coy. A Tennessee coonkin cap seems to be the only serious contender to try to make Americans forget mink coats.

This gives Republicans reason for hope. However, this is no cause for over-confidence, nor yet under-confidence. Republicans should and will put their best

foot forward in full confidence that giving the people the facts, as Al Smith used to say, and a candidate in whom everyone can have confidence as to his honesty, experience, and understanding of our problems, domestic and foreign, the people will respond—not only the 22 millions who have voted Republican in the last three presidential elections, but many of the 45 million who did not choose to vote—as we put on a fighting campaign that shows up the record of vacillation and dishonesty that has resulted so disastrously.

In the last three elections, New York has supplied the Republican presidential nominee. Republicans everywhere feel sure that our friends in New York will understand if we this time select a candidate from elsewhere, perhaps the Middlewest, and we rely confidently on New York joining Maine and many other states in supporting the Republican nominee.

New York has demonstrated already its determination to install integrity in public office, and along with all those other qualifications and broad experience, we may well offer a candidate whose whole record in public life uniquely qualifies him to be called "honest Bob."

Let us as Republicans face the future with determination that we will select the best qualified candidate for President and go into the campaign with a leader who has been tested in the political hustings as a Republican nominee for various offices and who has never known defeat. Under the insidious argument of selecting a nominee who can win, Bob Taft

has been passed over by two national conventions, only to find that the arguments based on expediency did not bring success.

Let us, in the language of George Washington, raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair and go forward to victory under the banner of principle rather than expediency.

I do not believe Republicans should waste time devising or discussing reasons why a Republican cannot be elected. Let us leave that to the Democrats. I believe Eisenhower can be elected as a Republican, or Warren, or Stassen. I believe Bob Taft can be elected, and I further believe that any one of these will be a vast improvement over what we have and over anyone whom the Democrats are likely to nominate.

I happen to believe also that Bob Taft possesses the experience and training that particularly qualifies him to take over the Presidency at this critical time. In the last few turbulent years, Bob Taft has demonstrated in the Congress a leadership that is in many respects unique. In the passage of many controversial but vital measures, Bob Taft has shown a political perspicacity unparalleled in our times.

The capacity to coordinate varying viewpoints in both parties is one of the most necessary qualifications for a successful President. That quality Bob Taft has shown he possesses in an extraordinary degree, as his influence has been felt in all phases of the legislative process and on both sides of the aisle that separates the parties.

The confidence in Congress and in the country in Bob's intelligence, indefatigable industry and complete integrity is a priceless asset for the American people and the

world in restoring confidence in government, upon which alone an enduring structure of peace can be erected. And these are some of the reasons why in my judgment Bob Taft should and will be the next President of the United States. (*Applause*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Senator Brewster, for that able statement on behalf of Senator Taft. Well, sir, while Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts may be heading up the campaign for General Eisenhower, his colleague, Congressman Christian Herter of Massachusetts, member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, is one of the General's ablest and most effective supporters, and is chairman of the Massachusetts Committee for General Eisenhower.

Congressman Herter, will you tell us why the Republicans should nominate General Eisenhower at their convention in July?

Congressman Herter:

Mr. Denny and ladies and gentlemen, let me say at the outset that it is a bitter disappointment to me that Senator Brewster isn't here. Not that I miss his presence entirely, as his voice came over the air extremely clearly, but because he got stranded in my own home city; and if he were going to get stranded anywhere I would have liked to have been stranded there with him. We might have been debating this issue *there* tonight.

He has made his usual able argument on behalf of Senator Taft. He has said one thing, however, with which I want to take exception at the outset.

First of all, I want to take exception to something that was said here in the hall prior to the time

that this meeting went on the air. The thing that I want to take exception to is that of the argument with respect to Eisenhower's availability and electability as being an insidious argument. In my opinion, having lived for twenty-odd years under a Democratic administration, it is not an insidious argument to talk about whether a man can be elected or not. (Applause)

Furthermore, the question as to whether General Eisenhower is a Republican or is not a Republican has been determined judicially, so there is no use in our discussing it here tonight. The Secretary of the state of New Hampshire has ruled officially that General Eisenhower can be entered on the ballot in New Hampshire as a Republican candidate and not as a Democrat, in the light of the statement which has been made by the General himself, and I don't think there is anyone here who is questioning the general's integrity.

To come to the question that Mr. Denny has asked, "Why am I supporting General Eisenhower?" I am doing it on the basis of two major conclusions. The first is that the likelihood of his being elected President of the United States on the Republican ticket is greater than the likelihood of any other individual being selected.

The second, is that General Eisenhower has demonstrated both the way that he has handled administrative responsibility and in his statements of principle that he is outstandingly qualified to carry out the difficult responsibilities of leadership in this country. Let me develop these two points further. Every reputable poll which has been taken over the nation has shown that General

Eisenhower has much greater strength with Independents and with the Democrats than any other candidates whom the Republicans might nominate. This is an indisputable fact.

Furthermore, it is an indisputable fact that among the voters of the country today only a little over thirty per cent are registered Republicans, whereas forty per cent are registered Democrats. And the balance of approximately thirty per cent have not declared their allegiance to either party.

The greater majority of this last group are undeclared because they are in the middle of the road and want to be free to shift their allegiance in accordance with what is offered to them from both sides. The Republicans can win only if they can attract at least two thirds of this Independent vote, whereas the Democrats need to attract only one third of that vote; that is, of course, assuming that each candidate can carry his own party without really serious defection.

This is a tremendous undertaking for the Republicans and can only be carried through with any real assurance if the man who has the greatest appeal to the middle-of-the-road group is nominated. To me this argument is so decisive that I feel only by their nomination and the election of General Eisenhower can the Republican Party regain power and so perform what in my opinion would be a very great service to the nation.

With respect to the second point, I'm hopeful that further debate during the course of the evening will give me ample opportunity to develop it. Every individual who has studied General Eisenhower's record as an administrator, as a leader of men,

and as a skilled conciliator of difficult conflicts has rated him extraordinarily high in these qualities so essential to a successful administration in the White House.

Moreover, a study of his statements on both domestic and foreign policy matters reveals him to be a man of great forthrightness and an almost fanatical upholder of the principles of freedom and of enterprise which have made this country a great country.

Likewise, in presenting the General's qualifications, there is no denying the fact that on the paramount subject of war, or the threat of war, when all that this means to us, both from a material and a human point of view, no one is more capable of speaking and recommending action than is the General.

As a professional soldier, he has come to know the horrors of war and to hate war, while at the same time he can gauge expertly the chances of preventing war and can determine what measures should be taken by ourselves and our allies to minimize the threat of further wars. He is supremely qualified to chart the course to a durable peace.

I hope that I can develop this further as the evening progresses, and now I conclude these perfunctory, but I hope at the same time, persuasive remarks. (Applause)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Congressman Herter. Now, Senator Brewster, you've heard the Congressman's remarks. I wonder if you have a question for him or comments on what he has had to say.

Senator Brewster: Well, I reciprocate in full measure my respect and regard for Chris Herter.

I did not use the words "insidious arguments" regarding the possibility of election. I continue to regret the stress that should be laid upon this issue of whether or not men can be elected, because I am sure, as long as General Eisenhower continues in his present position, wearing the uniform, he cannot discuss these issues, Chris Herter will recognize, as do all Americans, the unfortunate position in which it places those who advocate his cause.

His chief advocate, Senator Duff said some time ago that when he came out and announced his availability he would at the same time and I quote his exact language "He will then or shortly after make known his views on all the important subjects of the day. I think he would insist upon doing it. That's the kind of man he is."

Now if we are to have a full discussion in the next three or four months of General Eisenhower's views upon all the public issues of the day, we shall be able to appraise it accurately. But if we accept General Eisenhower's own statement at face value — and I'm sure Mr. Herter will recognize he's an honest man — he said "Under no circumstances will I ask for relief from this assignment in order to seek nomination to political office, and I shall not participate in the pre-convention activities of others who may have such an extension with respect to me."

That means that we shall not have the opportunity of learning his views, and I'm sure Chris Herter recognizes that behind what Mr. Stassen has perhaps called "the cocky curtain," General Eisenhower will be the last man in the world to desire that attacks be made upon the qualifications of the

capacity of election of other candidates for this high office.

Mr. Denny: All right, thank you, Senator Brewster. Congressman Herter has a comment to make.

Congressman Herter: I would say this I would fully agree with what Senator Brewster has said except for the very last implica-

tion. He claims it's an attack to talk about whether a man can be elected or not. I don't think that is true. I'm not going to attack in any way Senator Taft's ability. He's been a personal friend of mine for thirty years. I'm talking about the *better* man, not a bad man.



QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: All right, thank you. Now Senator Brewster, unless you have a particularly vital point you want to make at this time, our aisles are packed with people who want to ask questions.

Senator Brewster: I think it's time for questions.

Mr. Denny: All right, sir, here's a question for you sir.

Man: Senator Brewster, numerous prominent representative Southern newspapers have endorsed Eisenhower. Shouldn't we take advantage of our first and best opportunity since the Civil War to break the Solid South?

Senator Brewster: Don't you think that General Eisenhower has got to state his position on FEPC before anyone can know whether the South will vote for him or not? Senator Taft has made his position perfectly clear. Where does General Eisenhower stand?

Man: Representative Herter, how could Eisenhower change the present policies of the State Department when he himself has been so important a contributor to those policies in Europe?

Cong. Herter: I don't feel that that is necessarily a relevant question at all. General Eisenhower has been a terribly important in-

strument in the carrying out of one phase of Administration policy, and that is in the building up of a unified army, or a joint army, in Europe and if possible, to encourage political integration in Europe.

Those are purposes which I don't think anyone can quarrel with today. I'd say that those were universal American purposes, and in those I think General Eisenhower has been trying to carry out a policy. I happen to know that he has had a great many quarrels with the State Department, as everybody else does, when it comes to the details of administration.

Man: Senator Brewster, Senator Taft states that rearming Europe might provoke war with Russia. Yet he states that General MacArthur is right to attack bases in Manchuria. Is he not running the risk in Asia that he fears in Europe?

Senator Brewster: I think it has become more and more evident to everyone, as I have found in a recent trip around the world, that we are becoming increasingly convinced that Russia is as hesitant about getting into a world war as we are, and as fearful of it; and I believe that the provocations which we've already taken in the Berlin Airlift, in the Greek-Turk-

ish policy, in the Iranian ultimatum we gave on oil to Russia, have all indicated that Russia is not ready for a world war or she would long since have precipitated it.

Lady: Representative Herter, what is General Eisenhower's attitude about our present policy in Korea? And if possible, please explain General Eisenhower's foreign policy.

Cong. Herter: Insofar as the policy in Korea is concerned, obviously no individual can speak for General Eisenhower except General Eisenhower himself. I may say this, however. I have talked to General Eisenhower about our Far Eastern Policy. I have talked with other members. We were privileged to talk to him this last summer at considerable length, and I am not going to quote him directly, but I think I can say this with every assurance that Paris will not repudiate it: that his attitude, as far as the Far East is concerned, even though he has not been active in the Far East, is almost identical with the attitude of General MacArthur toward Europe, even though General MacArthur had not been active in Europe, and that is that they are both of equal importance to us, that neither has got a precedence in importance over the other to the future of the United States.

Man: Senator Brewster, Senator Taft has denied that he is an isolationist. How does that jibe with the fact that one of his most ardent supporters is Colonel McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune*?

Senator Brewster: I say that Senator Taft has got to be judged on his record and not on Colonel McCormick's. Senator Taft was an original advocate of the League of

Nations thirty years ago and has continued ever since to believe in a world organization dedicated to justice, and that is the real test of whether or not a man recognizes our responsibilities in the world today. The fact that Colonel McCormick prefers him to a Democrat or to some others is certainly no reflection on Senator Taft's capacity to understand international affairs.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Brewster. Congressman Herter has a comment on that.

Cong. Herter: I just want to make a comment, Senator. I know you will realize that I'm saying this in all sincerity. I'm seriously puzzled. Senator Taft voted against the Atlantic Treaty. He even stated that to appropriate money for it was more likely to be an irritant that would bring Russia in than a deterrent to keep Russia out. In the face of those statements how can you reconcile his most recent statement that he and General Eisenhower in foreign policy do not disagree in principle, but merely in the degree of application?

Senator Brewster: I think that anyone who is seriously interested in Bob Taft's position on foreign affairs needs only to read his recent book which he's got out with characteristic courage that is somewhat unusual among politicians, as we have no comparable statement, certainly from his leading opponent, on all the great issues of the day. He published in November *A Foreign Policy for America*, and there he tells the story, and he explains exactly why he has voted as he has under various issues, and how he would vote in the future and how he would act when he becomes President of the United States. I hope we can have a

similar statement from his leading opponent.

Lady: Congressman Herter, would not permission for Democrats to nominate Eisenhower, also, as was done for Warren as Governor in California, provide the best chance for long-needed party realignment?

Cong. Herter: I don't know what the lady means exactly by *permission*. The Democrats can do exactly as they see fit in their own convention. In view of General Eisenhower's statement that he was a Republican and had voted consistently the Republican ticket, the Secretary of State in New Hampshire forbade his going on the ballot as a Democrat, as the New Hampshire laws says that only a hundred signatures on a petition of people of the same political party, alleging that the individual is a member of that same party, can put him on that preferential ballot. That's the reason he was excluded. It had nothing to do with the Democratic convention. The Democrats can nominate anyone they see fit. We're not worrying about that yet.

Man: Senator Brewster, will you comment directly on the fact that the Gallup and Roper polls show that Eisenhower is strongly favored by Independents and that Taft is not?

Senator Brewster: Well, I think those same polls showed that Mr. Dewey was going to win last time. (*Laughter*) I think the question of these polls has been pretty well discounted in the way they have turned out. I think the best test is the actual results of an election when, in 1950, Bob Taft—and there was no Gallup poll on it, curiously enough, I wonder why they didn't go into Ohio and take a poll there, but

everyone predicted that he was going to be defeated—turned out the unprecedented majority of over 400,000 and an unprecedented outpouring of voters from every walk of life and carried every industrial area in Ohio, in spite of all the predictions as to his attitude on the labor question. Those actual results speak far louder than any poll, as we've come to learn in recent years.

Mr. Demmy: Thank you, Senator Brewster. Congressman Herter has a comment.

Con. Herter: I'd really like to make two comments in regard to polls. It's true that some polls have been inaccurate, usually by a fairly small percentage—three per cent either way, which would mean six per cent. But what was the last Gallup poll in December of 1951, between Truman and Taft? It was Truman 42 per cent, Taft 45 per cent, a difference of three per cent, a very close margin. What was it between Truman and Eisenhower? Truman 28 per cent, Eisenhower 64 per cent—a higher percentage than has ever been shown for any individual who has won the Presidency of the United States.

Now let's not assume that that one will necessarily hold, but Mr. Gallup is making his living by trying to do honest reporting. He has been burned once. He's not going to try to exaggerate again knowing that his reputation is at stake. When his figures have shown the extreme margin of that kind, if you like, we can discount the little margin between Truman and Taft, but you cannot discount the large margin between Truman and Eisenhower.

Now here is the second point, and that is the statement the campaign manager for Senator Taft

made out in San Francisco which he based entirely on polls, and polls taken among Republican politicians. He has asked us to accept those polls and I am willing to accept them. I'll accept them with great pleasure, but then let's not deride the other polls. I think they are extremely indicative.

Senator Brewster: It's also very interesting that Dr. Gallup showed that 72 per cent of the Republicans of the country wanted Bob Taft as the nominee, and it would seem as though it was time for their views to be taken somewhat into account. The only time the Gallup polls check is when the voters actually turn out; and in the final test, Bob Taft, when nominated, has always won.

Mr. Denny: All right, thank you. Congressman Herter has a comment.

Cong. Herter: Yes, I would comment on that. To begin with, I question that figure of 72 per cent of the Republicans saying they wanted Taft. That is limited entirely to county leaders, not to Republicans as a whole in the cross section.

The second thing: it's true that Bob Taft has not lost, but let's take one look at that over-all picture, and I'm not for a moment disparaging Bob Taft. He had a superb reelection in Ohio and he deserved it, so I'm not questioning that. He cleared Ohio by a large margin. Warren in California carried California as a governor by a colossal margin. Dewey carried New York as a governor by a colossal margin. Dewey could not carry New York nationally. Warren could not carry California nationally.

There is no comparison between a national election and a local election within the state, and all

the polls so far in Ohio showed that there would be a very large defection from Taft in a national election from those who voted for him in the state election.

Senator Brewster: And yet Mr. Herter and some of his friends are proposing the man who has never been a candidate for any political office or ever run in any race to demonstrate whether or not he'll finish as strongly as he starts. That is the time, I think, when Republicans need to consider very carefully some people who have been in the races and have demonstrated their understanding of the political complexities of this situation and know thoroughly how the political organizations operate. I would not propose Bob Taft for Chief of Staff, and Mr. Eisenhower himself has very well said in the letter which he wrote a year ago: "It is my conviction that unless an individual feels some inner compulsion and special qualifications to enter the political arena which I do not." That's General Eisenhower's own statement, and he went on, after saying that he believed it was not wise for life-long professional soldiers, in the absence of some obvious and overriding reasons, to seek high political office that he would regard it, and I quote, "as unalloyed tragedy for our country if the day should ever come when military commanders might be selected with an eye to their future potentialities in the political field rather than exclusively upon judgments as to their military abilities."

Man: Congressman Herter, how can you ask us to nominate General Eisenhower, whose political affiliations were unknown three weeks ago and whose concepts of government are still unknown?

Cong. Herter: It is quite true

that his political affiliations may have been unknown. On the other hand, to those who have listened to his statements that he has been able to make as a private citizen and not as a member of the armed forces who could not take part in seeking office, it has been very clear for a good many years that he was a Republican, because his basic philosophies were clearly Republican.

I might say that I've brought with me in a folder here tonight a compilation that has just been made by the *Congressional Record* in Washington. It has taken the views of the four leading Republican candidates on 28 of the major issues. On 22 of those, General Eisenhower is clearly recorded. He is clearly recorded in the statements he has made. If I had time tonight I'd be delighted to read them to you because they are extraordinarily clear from the point of view of a basic philosophy, and a basic philosophy that I think Republicans ought to be extremely proud of.

From the point of view of some of the details, if people want to ask in detail as to where I think General Eisenhower now stands, I'd be delighted to tell them. I can't tell them with assurance, but I can tell them with some degree of assurance from the point of view of a fairly close association.

Man: Senator Brewster, Senator Taft has advocated war with China if present truce negotiations fail. How can this be accomplished with the cuts in the military budget he has proposed?

Senator Brewster: I think that all military authorities agree that our current supplies are adequate for the program which was proposed. I think Senator Taft's

position is clear. He has repeatedly made the statement and many others that it has taken nine months and 50,000 American casualties to persuade a few politicians in Washington and in London that General Douglas MacArthur was absolutely right, and those who supported him in urging the program under which this affair might long since have been finished.

Man: Congressman Herter, would Eisenhower's nomination mean a me-too foreign policy?

Cong. Herter: I can't see why it should necessarily mean a me-too foreign policy in any way whatsoever. In the last two years there has been a development of what you might call a bipartisan foreign policy to a large extent, as far as Europe is concerned. In Asia, unfortunately, there has been no coördination, coöperation or consultation whatsoever with any prominent member of the Republican party until John Foster Dulles was asked to make a Peace Treaty with Japan. I see no reason whatever why General Eisenhower shouldn't be entirely free to criticize, to direct—and, I think, direct very wisely—what I've said at the outset—a durable peace, something all of us want more than anything else.

Lady: Senator Brewster, do you think that Taft-Hartley bill would have any concrete bearing on the labor vote for Taft?

Senator Brewster: Well, I think that was demonstrated pretty conclusively in the Ohio election when, as you know, they made a tremendous drive and were amply financed and supplied with the most scurilous material, and when the result was through, Senator Taft had carried every industrial area in that great industrial state of Ohio. That, I think, answered

the question whether labor men understand that under the Taft-Hartley Act in the last few years more Americans have had more jobs, at more pay, than ever before in the history of this or any other country.

Lady: Mr. Herter, would not nomination of Eisenhower on both Republican and Democratic tickets set a dangerous precedent by removing the need for national election?

Cong. Herter: I would agree with you entirely. I would not like to see except in time of terrific crisis the nomination of the same individual by both parties. I think the two-party system is one of the healthiest things that we can have. I must say this, though, that I hope that this country never sees the two-party system divide on the straight labor, conservative, or reactionary lines. There, to my mind, the pendulum swings much too far from the point of view of the health of the nation. I would hope that the various elements within the parties themselves fight things out and that each party puts forward its best foot from the point of view of what he thinks can keep this country on a stable but progressing basis.

Man: Senator Brewster, don't you think Senator Taft is open to criticism when he says it is not worth the time wasted to go after the Independent vote?

Senator Brewster: Well, I think that has been very much misunderstood. I pointed out in my opening statement that in the last three presidential campaigns we've had 22,000,000 Republican votes, far more than the thirty per cent they have accorded us. It looks to me as though they were Republicans —have been all the time.

By the last election, President Truman had about 24,000,000. In the 1950 election, the Democrats lost five million votes while the Republicans only lost about one million, which was a rather interesting indication that the temperature was moving up.

Now, meanwhile, in the '48 election, there were 45 million Americans who did not choose to vote, 49 per cent of the total electorate, and it is Senator Taft's conviction and mine that the decision in the next election will be found in that vast unrecorded 45 million who didn't buy the New Deal or the Fair Deal or any other kind of a deal, but who are waiting for an outright, forthright American fighting program to be presented, and that is what brought them to the polls in Ohio in 1950 and will bring them to the polls in 1952.

Man: Congressman Herter, isn't it against all American sentiment to want a military man for President?

Cong. Herter: I think that it probably is, except for the fact that outside of lawyers, we've had more military men for Presidents than of any other profession. On the other hand, I want to say this, if I may. I have here among my papers a statement made by Eisenhower himself in regard to a military man going outside the military service. Now I want to read this because it is about as indicative of his state of mind as anything that could be read.

He said this, when he was inaugurated as President of Columbia, "If this were a land where the military profession is a weapon of tyranny or aggression, its members dedicated to its perpetuation, a lifelong soldier could hardly assume my present role. But in

our nation the army is a servant of the people designed and trained exclusively to protect our way of life. Duty in effect is an exercise of citizenship, and hence among us the soldier who becomes an educator or the teacher who becomes a soldier enters no foreign field, but finds himself instead engaged in a new phase of his fundamental life purpose—the protection and perpetuation of basic human freedoms."

Senator Brewster: May I comment on that? I would like to quote from General Eisenhower myself in this matter, when he said: "Politics is a profession—serious, complicated, and in its true sense a noble one. And in the American scene, I see no dearth of men fitted by training, talent and integrity for national

leadership. On the other hand, nothing in the international or domestic situation—this was speaking of 1948 but I'm sure that it was no more critical than it is today—"nothing in the International or domestic situation especially qualifies for the most important office in the world a man whose adult years have been spent in the country's military forces. At least, this is true in my case." Those are the words of General Eisenhower about himself.

Mr. Denny: Thank you very much, Senator Brewster. I want to thank you both, Senator Brewster and Congressman Herter, for the very helpful light that you've thrown on this question. So plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's Bell.



FOR FURTHER STUDY OF THIS WEEK'S TOPIC

Background Questions

1. How will foreign policy influence the Republican nomination?
 - a. Would our allies prefer Eisenhower to remain in Europe as head of SHAPE or to become President?
 - b. Is Senator Taft an isolationist?
 - c. We all know Eisenhower's European policies, but what would he do in the Far East, the Middle East, and Korea?
 - d. Senator Taft has expressed the view that the Korean War is a useless war. What steps would he take if he became President?
 - e. Taft has denounced the United Nations. If he became President, would he support changing the charter, withdrawing, or any other action?
 - f. If Eisenhower becomes the Republican nominee, who can those who disagree with our present foreign policy vote for?
2. How will domestic issues influence the Republican nomination?
 - a. What is each candidate's stand on taxes, inflation, price and wage controls, mobilization, social security, farm subsidies, civil rights, and aid to education? What are the main differences between Taft's and Eisenhower's views?
3. How will the backgrounds, experience, and popularity of the candidates influence the nomination?
 - a. Public opinion polls have indicated that Eisenhower is more popular than Taft among the rank-and-file voters, but that Taft

is more popular than Eisenhower among the Republican organization men. Do you agree with this appraisal, and if so, which type of popularity will win the nomination?

- b. How will the fact that Taft is a professional politician affect his chances?
- c. How will the fact that Eisenhower is a military man affect his chances?

4. How will the future of the Republican Party affect the nomination?

- a. Would Eisenhower's candidacy force a showdown between the liberal and conservative wings of the Republican Party?
- b. After twenty years as the opposition party, does the future of the Republican Party demand a sure winner, regardless of how Republican he is? Or should the election be based on the candidate's principles rather than political expediency?
- c. Is it more important to the future of the party to have a 100% Republican candidate than one whose position is not completely Republican?

5. How will the vote-getting ability of each candidate influence the nomination?

- a. Who can win more support among the independent voters, the regular Democrats, the regular Republicans?
- b. Which candidate would be more likely to win the vote of:

labor	liberals	the South
business	conservatives	the Midwest
	farmers	

6. Which candidate could best unify the country?



THE LISTENER TALKS BACK

on

"HOW CAN WE PROTECT AMERICAN CITIZENS BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN?"

Program of January 15, 1952

S p e a k e r s

George A. Smathers

John J. Sparkman

Robert Vogeler

Jacob K. Javits

Each week we print as many significant comments on the preceding Tuesday's broadcast as space allows. You are invited to send in your opinions, pro and con. The letters should be mailed to Department A, Town Hall, New York 36, N. Y., not later than Thursday following the program. It is understood that we may publish any letters or comments received.

KEEP OUT

How would we like it if Russian or Hungarian war planes would fly over our U.S.A.? I am sure we would not remain inactive. The only really constructive idea I could find . . . was that we keep

away from those countries that make us trouble.—MRS. CHARLES CHANDLER, Boulder, Colorado.

THE MONEY WAS MINOR

Would the Reds have released (the fliers) if citizens and not the U. S. Government had paid the

ansom? It is our opinion that Russia is more interested in forcing the U. S. to comply with her demands than the money. — MR. AND MRS. THEODORE G. PETERSON, Evanston, Illinois.

PRECEDENT

I sure do not believe in paying ransom, for we are just inviting blackmail one time after another if we submit to it once.—MRS. LARRY C. HAMILTON, Creston, Ohio.

NO KICK COMING

What kick has any individual coming, who for one reason or other . . . ventures into what we seem so much to want to be the "enemy" camp, if he is suspected of being a spy or instigator of revolt and kept there until proven innocent?

Is anyone allowed to come into the U. S. A. without the proper credentials? Is any foreign plane allowed to traverse the air above our land without the proper permits? We don't call it here being "kidnapped" when someone suspected of a crime is jailed. Nor do we call it "ransomed" when the convicted culprit is released on paying the fine set by the judge.

The four airmen could have stayed in jail; thirty days there could not have killed them. . . . Is a mother who had a son in the last mess . . . I am not willing to donate my children for another eastward foray either for Mr. Vogeler, Mr. Oatis, or four fliers, who best were bunglers in their

trade. . . . Why ask for the blood of my children and millions of other mothers' children to bail out one particular duffer? — MARIE DE BRUYN STEINBACH, Staten Island, New York.

THE PRICE OF PRESTIGE

Senator Smathers stated that the United States should give up economic losses in exchange for prestige among the other countries of the world. In order to gain this prestige, certain commodities would have to be sacrificed (by) the American people. . . . With the elections just around the corner, the legislators may be afraid of supporting such a bill . . . (but) if (they) knew that the American people are willing to accept (sacrifices) action on these bills might be expedited.—J. G. SMITH, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

PUSSYFOOT POLICY

American foreign policy is pussyfooting because of inability to mold public opinion into supporting stronger action to protect Americans behind the Iron Curtain. It seems to me that Town Hall could . . . contribute to molding necessary public opinion by eliminating the three Congressmen and letting Mr. Vogeler reveal his story for 45 minutes with or without questions. — JOHN P. REYNOLDS, Madison, Wisconsin.

[One speaker may help mold public opinion, but one speaker doesn't make a Town Meeting.]

—ED.]

FEB 4 1962



ON TELEVISION

STARTING SUNDAY, JANUARY 27

6:30 p.m. on East and West Coasts

5:30 p.m., Central Zone

Sponsored by

REICHHOLD CHEMICALS, INC.

On These ABC-TV Stations:

WJZ-TV	- - - - -	New York
WMAL-TV	- - - - -	Washington
WFIL-TV	- - - - -	Philadelphia
WXYZ-TV	- - - - -	Detroit
WEWS-TV	- - - - -	Cleveland
WENR-TV	- - - - -	Chicago
*KECA-TV	- - - - -	Los Angeles
*KGO-TV	- - - - -	San Francisco

*STARTING SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3